

593 been chatting enjoyably. Quite frequently her daughter, Batu, a young girl just past puberty, will tell her that it is time to feed the pigs. It must be remembered that in both the incidents just described the children had reached puberty, but, what is more important, they were behaving according to the social pattern. It was Pulong's duty to feed the pigs at this time. It is expected that children will run away from home to the place where their clan relatives live. If the child follows the social pattern, the adult, even though personally inconvenienced, has no authority to make him do otherwise.

857 Both boys and girls participate in the ritual dancing as
535 soon as they are able to walk. Little girls of six follow
868 behind their mothers at the dance rehearsals, and by the time they are ten or eleven participate in the dances at the rites. The boys participate similarly in the male dances. For several nights after a rite is over, very young children from about four up will be found on the beach dancing in imitation of the adult dances they have recently witnessed. The children have leaves twined around their hair and stuck in their *biuk* (arm band) just as the older dancers.

• 867 As the children learn the dances, so also do they learn the rules of kinship behaviour, even though they are not fully enforced until after puberty. Although the parents are both
593 protectors and disciplinarians, it does not mean that there is no affection between them and their children. After a child has passed his suckling period there is not the demonstrativeness of affection between him and his parents, as there was in infancy, but that it exists is evidenced by the care lavished on the child. Sometimes I have even seen the inverse, that is, an attitude of solicitude on the part of a child for his parent. One little girl was very much worried when her father climbed a tree with its trunk slippery and wet from recent rain. Another girl was cast down and worried when her mother was ill.

605 and sisters, between whom a semi-taboo relationship begins
 602 at puberty. But although there is no demonstration of affection between them, in childhood real brothers and sisters play together.

605 The real force of taboo relationships does not make itself
 784 felt until after puberty. The most important of these, as has
 867 been indicated, are the cross-cousin relationships, that is,
 between a girl and her mother's brother's son and her father's sister's son. At the same time that the child learns the personal names of other relatives, he learns that personal names in this cross-cousin relationship must never be spoken, and that the term *koko* (the diminutive of *korup*) is used instead. He sees the avoidance between the adults who stand in this relationship, and he, too, avoids his *koko*, although perhaps not quite so actively as do the adults. Thus a child sees his father leave the compound when the maternal grandmother comes to visit them. Since the children spend most of their time on the outskirts of the adult world, they have full opportunity to observe patterns of behaviour between taboo and other relatives, as well as to learn how to scrape taro and handle the fishing-net.

861 Education here is for the most part a subtle process. From
 831 infancy, children are bystanders in the adult world. Wherever the adults are gathered, there also are the children, watching them as they perform their tasks, assisting in them within their strength, and listening to the conversations, on which there are no bars because of the presence of children. Obscene stories, scandal, gossip of all kinds, are repeated openly before children of all ages. There is one exception, and this is not a matter of age but of kinship; a mother does not discuss her sexual life before her daughter, whether that daughter be a tot of five or a middle-aged woman. She will talk about her sexual life before other women, and she will discuss another woman's sexual life before her daughter, but not her own *affaires du cœur*. She gives as her reason that she is

CHILDHOOD

93

ashamed.¹ As far as I could ascertain, I think the same kind of shame exists between a father and his son, but I did not have the opportunity of investigating this matter fully, because I was so much more with the women than with the men in the casual, everyday, gossip life, which is the time when this type of observation could best be made.

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INSTRUCTION IN FOLK-TALES AND MYTHS

One aspect of the child's education is not so subtle. Definite instruction is given in the telling of folk-tales and myths. Sometimes the children may learn them casually as they sit around the campfires at night with the adults, but to assure the children's real knowledge of this folk literature, there is a period lasting three or four weeks during which the adult males and females tell the children tales at night around the fire. A feast marks the completion of this period for the relation of folk tales. The tales are very much in the nature of Aesop's Fables, in that many of them point a moral. Etiquette, taboos, customs, are all illustrated in these narratives, as is also the punishment for those who break taboos and customs. The best illustrations are some of the tales themselves. The following are a few:

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An old woman tells her two grandchildren not to take a certain path. She points to it and says: "This is not a good path. You must not go on it. There are bananas on this path and they are ripe, but you must not eat them." Then she points to another path as the one the children are to take.

The next day the old woman sends the two children for some water and again reminds them that they are not to take the taboo path. But the children walk down

¹ In our own society most parents do not like to discuss their sex interests with their own children. The question of whether this is a universal characteristic between parents and children is for further investigation.

● 867 the taboo path and eat the forbidden bananas. They
539 return to their grandmother and she sees a little of the
banana sticking to the corner of their mouths. Then
she is very cross, and asks why they have eaten the
forbidden bananas. The children, to divert her attention,
tell her to look out for a dog. She turns around to look
for the dog, which, however, does not exist. While
her back is turned the children duck into the water and
swim away. They are drowned.

Then the grandmother catches a pig and makes a big
feast for the dead grandchildren.

A woman is in the village taking care of her newborn
infant. Her husband is away working in the bush garden.
A man out fishing in a canoe hears the woman singing
to her baby and comes ashore. He comes to her and
says, "Ah, you are singing!" She replies that she is
singing to her child and that her mother and father and
husband are away in the bush garden. The man returns
to his canoe and continues to look for sharks. The
woman continues singing and the same conversation
with the man is repeated. But he ends by telling her to
come out in the canoe with him. At first she says "No."
But he finally persuades her. She and the baby go out
in the canoe and the woman and the man copulate.

They come back and land on the shore of the hamlet,
Sapone. All the people of the village look at them and
know that they have had intercourse. The woman is
very much ashamed.¹ With the child on her back she
climbs to the top of a coconut tree, throws herself, the
child still on her back, to the ground, and they die.
Then a pig is killed and a big feast made for the dead
woman and child.

¹ There is a strong taboo against a woman having sexual intercourse
when she is suckling her child.

CHILDHOOD

95

A brother and sister are on their way to get water. As they walk through the bush they come to a *ias* tree with fruit on it. The girl climbs up the tree to get some of the fruit, while the boy remains on the ground. She throws the fruit down to him. He looks up and sees her genitalia. 867 • 539

The girl calls out to him to eat the fruit, but he replies that he does not want to eat, but wishes to copulate with her. He begins to sing. The girl asks why he sings and does not eat the fruit. He continues singing. The girl comes down from the tree and they walk to their home, he still singing.

Then they go in the back of the house and have intercourse many times in succession.

Afterward the parents kill the boy, and the girl dies from having copulated so many times in succession. The appropriate mortuary rites are held.

The men and women of Lesu were going in canoes to one of the Tabar islands. In one canoe was a husband and wife, who left their child behind because he had so many sores. As the parents push off the child cries out that he wants to go with them. But the parents answer, "No, you have too many sores. You stay behind." And the canoe pushes off.

The child remains on the beach and a fish named *Tsugelut*, comes up and tells the boy to get a banana leaf and put it on his back. The boy does this and then sits on the fish's back and the fish carries him across the water. The boy calls out, "*Tsel, tsel, tsel.*" ("Hurry up, hurry up, hurry up.") The fish goes quickly and arrives at Tabar before the canoe carrying the parents.

The child is at Tabar before the Lesu people arrive. When they come they see him on the beach and call out to his parents that their child is already there. The

867 parents reply that it cannot be their child because they
539 left him at home. Then they look at him, recognize
their son, and are very cross. They ask, "Why have you
come when you have so many sores?"

After the boy has been at Tabar for a while, the fish
who brought him tells him to put on his *kepkep* (breast
ornament) and then teaches him a spell to heal the sores.
And the sores are healed. Now the boy marries a Tabar
girl and the two sit on the back of the fish and return to
Lesu.

Upon their return they have a big feast of pigs and
taro. During the feast the parents return in their canoe.
They ask their son for some of the pig, but he answers,
"No, I have no father, no mother, now. Before, you
ran away from me because I had sores. Now, to-day,
I am all right and you want to eat with me. No, I have
no father and mother now." The parents go away.

A husband caught some fish. He wraps them in leaves
and puts them in the *liga* to be baked overnight.

That night the woman does not sleep very well.
Just before sunrise she gets up. The man is still sleeping.
She takes out the fish from the fire and eats them all.

The man rises later, looks for the fish, and finds that
they are gone. He is very cross and kills his wife. Then a
pig is killed and a big feast is made for her by her clan
relatives.

A man goes to look at a breadfruit tree which he says
belongs to him. Then his *gas* comes up and says that the
tree belongs to him, and they quarrel over its ownership.
The man climbs the tree and the *gas* stands below
and eats the breadfruit, which fall down. When the
man comes down from the tree and discovers this he is
angry, and tells his child to run and get his *anis* (dancing

CHILDHOOD

97

mask) and to put it on and scare the *gas*. The boy does this and the *gas* runs down into a hole in the ground. The man and his son then stick a branch of a tree down the hole and they go back to the village. Later the *gas* comes up from the hole, eats the tree and returns to the bush.

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These tales are but samples of the many which are told to the children. Obedience of children to parents, the breaking of the incest taboo, the taboo against intercourse for a woman during the period when she is nursing her child, the revolt of a child, the punishment of the woman who ate her husband's fish, an encounter of a man with his *gas* (or double) are a few of the many themes to which the children listen. And the children know their tales. In recording them, I found that the children could tell them as well as the adults. Thus, although the children learn the pattern of behaviour among adults through observations, it is also impressed upon them by folk-tales and myths. This part of their education is not dependent on the parents, or any other members of the immediate family; it is the village or community which is the school. The children may hear the tales around the fires in their own compound, but they are also sure to hear them once a year at the communal folk-tale telling period.

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BETROTHAL CUSTOMS

During this same period of childhood a girl is betrothed. It has already been told how an infant was "marked" or betrothed on the day of her birth by the mother of a boy. But, very frequently, this betrothal is not consummated in marriage. By the time the girl has reached the age of marriage, the boy may already be married and have no desire for another wife; or he may have died, or gone away to work,¹

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¹ To-day, with boys away working on other islands, and the tendency toward monogamy, this infant betrothal has little chance of consummation.